

R. Ireland - Commons, Amsey

1370

A D V I C E
TO THE
SERVANTS OF THE CROWN
IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS
OF IRELAND.
THE FIRST NUMBER;
CONTAINING
A D V I C E
TO A
LORD LIEUTENANT'S SECRETARY.

Admonitis est lenis oburgatio,

CICERO DE ORATORE.

D U B L I N :

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M,DCC,LXXXVI.

A. D. V. I. C. E.

SECRETARY OF THE CROWN

HOUSE OF COMMONS



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A D V I C E

TO THE

SERVANTS OF THE CROWN.

I Did intend originally to begin this course of *lectures*, if I may be allowed the expression, with some general observations on the duties and conduct of a servant of the Crown in this kingdom; but upon reflection have determined to reserve this part of the work till the whole shall be fit to appear in another form, more full and methodical than the present. In the mean time, I propose to take up in their proper order the several different departments in which the servants of the Crown, in the House of

Commons, are employed, or should employ themselves; and shall endeavour, from the best consideration I can give the subject, to point out such rules of conduct, as I flatter myself these gentlemen will find it their interest, as well as their inclination, most religiously to observe.

The Confidential Secretary, on a variety of accounts, has the first claim to my notice; for when we consider the many *delicate and dark transactions* in which he is necessarily engaged, and the *natural innocence and simplicity* that usually recommend a person to that situation, and which make his task doubly difficult; when we consider the expediency of *his appearing an honest man*, and the *cruel doubts and suspicions that are often* entertained on that subject; when we consider the many occasions on which he must appear *equally devoted* to the interests of both these

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countries, when they are utterly repugnant to each other; when we reflect on the difficulty of devising a constant and pleasing succession of *indefinite and mysterious promises*, and of keeping up amongst a large number of persons a lively faith in his good intentions towards them, when not one in twenty of these expectants can have the remotest chance of being provided for; when, I say, all these circumstances are considered, it will, I think, be readily allowed, that the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, in a work of this kind, claims the earliest and most particular attention; and indeed, I will say so much for the present secretary, that he has shown such a tractable and docile disposition in the ways of his vocation, as gives the public every assurance that he will take the full benefit of these admonitions. None of the other gentlemen, however high in office, will, I think, take offence at this precedence I have thought fit to assign to the

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chief agent of government, and of consequence the keeper of *their* consciences; their deference and complaisance to the person in question, would, I am sure, go farther than this if occasion required.

ADVICE

A D V I C E

— TO A

LORD LIEUTENANT'S SECRETARY.

I Must at setting out acquaint you that you are not to expect in the following observations, either methodical arrangement or elegant language; I shall give my advice just as it occurs to me, and it will show your prudence to take it and make use of it, however you can get it.

As a great part of your business consists in the skilful management of your promises, some advice

vice on this head will be necessary. You are not upon any account to limit the expectations of your friends to such gifts as the administration may have in their power to bestow; for you would deserve the public indignation if you betrayed the poverty of the country you were sent over to govern; and finding your means inadequate to your purposes, your only remedy is a shew of profusion. The Romans, you may recollect, when besieged in the capital, and nearly starved, threw bread into the camp of the Gauls, to shew that there was no scarcity of that article.

In the disposal of places of considerable trust and emolument, you must not be fond of providing for what is called a man of merit; for as such persons should be modest they ought not to have made such high pretensions; and besides, you know virtue is its own reward.——Indeed when a small matter, that you could not expect any return for, falls vacant, it may be proper

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to provide for *some worthy person*: This will shew you are a man of *disinterested principle*, and must silence the calumnies of such as would charge you with venality and corruption.

As the public have got it into their heads, that the exigencies of the times require an œconomical management of the public money, you would do well to make it worth the while of *some independant gentlemen* to praise you on this head, for you can't expect that any will have a pleasure in this topic, *who have not felt the generosity of your disposition*; and besides, such language would come very awkwardly from any other persons.

There will be always a number of pert inquisitive men, who, in order to pump out of you the secrets of government, will continually ply you with searching questions: To such I would have you be abundantly satisfactory in the *length* of your reply; but except complimenting them (*if they be men of little or no*

character) on their candour and the goodness of their intentions, do not give them the least insight into what they wished to be informed of. By acting thus you will deserve the character of a *fluent copious speaker*, and there is no reason why you should make every one else as wise as yourself; beside, you will deter these querists from provoking you in future to so tiresome a retort.

Upon any question of consequence, on which your determination has been irrevocably decided, you would do well to declare, that it is a subject of the utmost intricacy and importance, and that you are open to conviction: This honesty and candour will entitle you to the good opinion of the country gentlemen, and the confidence of the public.

Should any popular measures press upon you, at a time when your administration is abruptly overfet by an unexpected revolution in the British cabinet, and that you happen to
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be a member of the English Parliament, set off to London, and be sure to give the new ministry the very same annoyance on the subject of Irish affairs, that you experienced yourself at this side of the water; in this case, you may with great success let fly any of the good arguments you heard made use of against yourself before. I remember this manœuvre to have been practised, not long since, with considerable eclat.—Such a proceeding as this will shew the world that you are capable of offensive as well as defensive exertions, and give an agreeable variety to your character—beside, though you should not gain the esteem of either country, yet you will shew that you are not to be turned off like a drunken coachman, or a cast troop horse.

If you have been obliged, by the necessity of the times, to fill any department by a man, who, though honest and well qualified, yet in *some more material points*, does not

quite suit your purposes, he is to be considered in the light of a *stop-gap*, and instead of the warm and confidential intercourse that at first subsisted between you, you must soon adopt a jealous and mortifying distance towards him, and in short, give him to understand that *his room would be as agreeable as his company*; if he seems at a loss to account for this reverse in your behaviour, then it appears that he is not a man of *discernment or sensibility*, and you need not care how grossly or expeditiously you get rid of such a person.

You will find it to be a generally received notion, that certain departments should be open only to men of professional merit, or those that are particularly qualified for such employments—But this being a *common prejudice*, is the less entitled to the attention of a great man, and besides *no general rule is without an exception, and therefore 'tis not necessary to observe it*.—You may, for instance, make one

one man a commissioner, in consideration of his being a *pretty gentleman*;—another, *because he writes madrigals, and parodies the scriptures*; —a third, for no reason that any one but yourself can discover.—You may recommend a man to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, though he is naturally *as heavy as the Hill of Howth*, and owes little more to art than to nature.—You may use your interest to make a man a Bishop, who has none of the requisites for the sacred function, except a *good knowledge of dogs and horses, and a tolerable knack of shooting with a pistol*.—You may very properly, if it comes to your turn, recommend a man for the Provostship of Trinity College, though he answers, in no one respect, to the musty and old-fashioned statutes of that university, and, above all things, *has no pretensions to learning*, which some are pleased to think a becoming qualification in the head of a learned body.—All this does, I must allow, at first sight, appear a little unjustifiable or so; but the spirit of the British constitution

tution reconciles it all: For, you know, 'tis one of the blessings of that constitution, to open the doors of preferment to all individuals, however inconsiderable.

If there is any member in opposition, who by his strong language, and by telling disagreeable truths, may perhaps a good deal confound the Treasury Bench, if not properly answered, you would do well (if you have no other convenient method of refuting him) to station five or six of the discreet, and promising young members, in different parts of the House to cough him down:—This will teach him, that the *sense* of the House is against him, and that he is unpopular without doors.

If the Parliament, out of complaisance to you, should think fit to vote any extraordinary supplies, the country gentlemen in opposition (like a stingy father or guardian, but without the same title to take such freedoms) will be continually

continually preaching up to you the practice of œconomy ; but as this is a *vulgar and house-wifely virtue*, it is very much below the notice of a man of your figure and station : beside, it would not be at all for the honor of your master, which it is the duty of you and all other servants principally to have in view. On the contrary, you should make it appear by a genteel profuseness in the articles of *pensions, incidental charges, extraordinaries*, (the two latter in particular from the name of them scarcely admit any stint) *concordatum money, &c. &c.* that you are not insensible to merit, and *even that you hunt it out where another would not have thought of finding it*. By the bye, some Members of the House of Commons take great airs on themselves from the notion of their holding the purse of the nation ; but this you are to treat merely as an Irish bull, for 'tis plain that it has been handed over to you and your friends ; and as gratitude is the most amiable of virtues, you should not forget those who
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have been most instrumental in conferring such a favour on you.

You should get the money bills out of the way as early in the session as possible, and this for a variety of reasons;—first, because you know the voting of money being the favourite privilege of the representatives of the people, you would wish *purely out of respect to the people*, that this should have the precedence of all other business; secondly, lest upon some discontents and ill-natured surmises against your administration, the House should take it in their heads to pass only a six months money bill, and thereby very much injure the credit of the nation, and likewise check and circumscribe the generosity of your disposition; thirdly, that as you will probably have some little matters of your own to come on, you may have a clear stage for the purpose, and that the members may not come down to the House purse-proud and haughty, and with their heads stuffed with arithmetic, as must ever be the case while the money

money bills are depending. I would recommend it you for the sake of impartiality, to insist on *a long day for any business of moment that comes from the opposite side of the House*; but the money bills being the business of the nation, cannot be delayed on any account.

As you will have many applications for the honour of a peerage, it is well worth considering what rule of conduct you should observe in this delicate point. There is a great variety of pretensions upon which the gentlemen of this country found their claim to the honour of hereditary nobility; and it is for you to consider the degree of weight which should be given to each. Those who are puffed up with the pride of ancestry, will have it that your mushroom folks, whom nobody knows, should not presume to aspire to the rank of nobility, which should properly be reserved as a peculiar favour to such families as have maintained their consequence in the country for a long time back; but this notion, besides being an

old fashioned prejudice, would tend in its effects to make a partial *reservoir* of the great *fountain* of honour, which, agreeable to the metaphor, should be open to *all comers*, and *not least to the meanest and most obscure*. Others who have risen fast in the world, or, as I may say, have sprung up in a hot bed, and *from delicate feelings, and a tenderness to the dead*, don't like saying, or hearing any thing said as concerning their forefathers; these, I say, rest their pretensions merely on their wealth and independence, and of course their ability to keep up the *dignity* of the peerage. Indeed a very frequent competition, and a very delicate one to decide upon, arises between high fashion, with a ruined estate, that wishes to make a handsome conclusion to its career, and vulgar wealth, without figure or ancestry, that desires to make a genteel outset in the race of high life. I shall not at present decide the preference in this case, but as you will probably use your interest in
favour

favour of some of both descriptions, your excuse must be, with regard to the former, that *family and distinction are very much wanting amongst the peers*; and, with regard to the latter, *that wealth and independance are what the peerage stands most in need of at present.*

It may be proper here to mention the other motives that usually induce men to sue for the honour of a peerage, that by having them in your mind, you may more readily determine the degree of influence the applications that are made should have upon you.

Some wish for a title, because they are possessed of large estates, and have nothing to do, and of course naturally look to the House of Lords as a *scene of action*.—Some because they either have already lost a county election, or must assuredly lose it the next Parliament. Such men wish to make an honourable retreat from vulgar contests of this kind; and I hope

you will have a proper consideration for men of this description, who act under the influence of an improved taste; and have learned to despise any consequence or distinction in the power of the people to bestow.——Some whose virtues and families have been a long time kept in obscurity, naturally desire to emerge from this cloud, intending to be *clariores e tenebris*; these having puzzled all the heralds, and not being able to make out any thing to their satisfaction, in the way of a coat of arms, in order to save trouble, sue for a peerage at once, which puts every thing of that kind out of dispute.

Some men, in pursuits of this nature, have their posterity in view; and others, though they can have no posterity, nor indeed any great length of time to live themselves, yet of all things at this side of the grave, wish most and are in the greatest hurry for a title, whether, in order to have comfort from it in their last moments, which are near at hand, or that
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they may with more propriety lie in state after their decease, to their own credit, and the satisfaction of their friends, I shall not take upon me to determine.

There are many men who without any vanity or ambition, or any thirst of nobility on their own account, yet are prevailed upon by the importunity of their wives to seek a draught from the *fountain of honour*. These are men who by some deficiencies or other on their part, have suffered their wives to gain an extravagant ascendancy over them;—if one of these imperious dames should take it in her head to *long* for a coronet to her coach, and at the same time should declare herself with child, her poor husband could no more refuse to solicit this favour, than he could deny her May-Duke cherries, or Hautboy strawberries, if she happened to feel a longing that way.—Some of these ladies think it sounds pretty to hear lady such a one's servants called for at the play-house;—others would give their eyes
to

to hear their titles roared at a party, thro' a string of servants, as the hour of the night is from one watchman to another; and others think that high place at the Castle on ball nights, would be the charmingest thing in the world.—How far the condition of these ladies should be considered, and how far you should go to remove their uneasiness, I should wish you to determine by the state of your own feelings on the subject.

As I am on the subject of the Lords, I must here recommend it to you, now and then, when there is no business in the House of Commons, to shew your respect and attention to the Upper House, by sitting there for half an hour or so; your presence will very much enliven the Lords in confidence; and it will divert you exceedingly, to observe them affect the Minister and the man of business, when you know all the time, that whatever is to be done there, might as well go on of itself, without any one putting a hand to it, like one
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of the figures in Cox's museum, or the movements of an eight-day clock.

The Lord Lieutenant, in general, sets apart for his friends among the clergy, (whom he has known at Oxford, or Cambridge, and found to be very *honest fellows*) the Bishopricks and other great church preferments in this kingdom; and I will not have you to be fond of thwarting him in this particular, though you might suffer by it in point of parliamentary interest—your forbearance in this respect will be highly commendable, and must gain you infinite credit with those who understand the true interest of the nation;—for we should be happy, that we have any thing in this country, that can induce Englishmen to come and live amongst us, and to bring with them their *families, friends, connections, dependants, &c.*—By this means we may hope in time to have our manners *polished and refined by the courteousness and affability of our neighbours at the other side of the water, and to learn the English accent*:
—Beside,

—Beside, there is no occasion why we should go to the expence of university education in this country, when we can have such scholars ready made from England, who I am sure will chearfully undertake a mission amongst the *natives of this island*, and give them the full benefit of their *precepts*. Thus we may also hope to see the handy-craft trades in this kingdom; rise in credit and fashion, as they will be filled by persons of good connections, who perhaps would have thrown themselves away by going into the church, if that profession stood open to them.

Learning and piety used, I acknowledge, in former times to be considered as the leading qualifications for the great church preferments; but this way of thinking has taken place in very few instances within the memory of man, and therefore is fairly to be looked upon as an antiquated and exploded opinion, and of course should have no influence in directing your judgment, or that of any of the
higher

higher powers that may concern themselves in these preferments; it may be proper indeed to have some men of this stamp amongst the lowest of the clergy, such as the curates and those who have small livings and large families, for the benefit to the example—and I think it would be wrong on many accounts to raise them out of this station, for you know 'tis only by adversity that talents and virtue are properly put to the test; and beside, as such persons should know that they are not to take any thought for to-morrow, neither what they shall eat, nor what they shall drink, nor wherewithal they shall be cloathed, much less can they expect that you or my lords the bishops should take any thought to have them provided with any of these necessaries.

If you should find it necessary to oblige any of the great leaders of parties, with the disposal of a bishopric to any person of this country, be sure you annex it as a condition of his preferment, that he is to reserve some of

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the best things in his gift, for the use of government; for a man who is just promoted to a bishopric, cannot pretend to be as good a judge of the merits of applications, as you who have had such practice in this way; and beside, out of the numberless promises you must have made, it will be highly becoming, and for the honour of the cause of truth, that now and then one of them should be performed.—By thus assisting the bishops in the discharge of the sacred functions of their station, you will shew, that amidst the cares of state, you are not inattentive to the *interests* of the church.

Some of the bishops will after the engagements are out, still continue to consult your better judgment in the disposal of whatever falls vacant, and I hope by the favour you shew them, that you will encourage this practice in them, and gradually bring others to it.

The practice of *barter* is not only a natural but a very commodious and satisfactory method of supplying the wants of those who either look for preferment of any kind for themselves, or are instrumental in procuring it for others. For instance, if you had to provide for a clergyman who could not with propriety accept of a *commission in the army*, or a *place in the revenue*, &c. the only things at the time in your disposal; and suppose a bishop to have a son a wild young man, whom he could not persuade to go into the church, what is more natural in this case than a barter of the commission, revenue place, &c. for the church living; at the same time I must caution you not to suffer your friend the parson to incur the penalties of a Simoniacal contract; for you know it must hurt his conscience to be *found out* in a transaction of that kind.

Much as I approve of the principle of *barter*, as just now stated, I must however admit, that in an improved state of society it cannot have a very extensive operation; the common medium of money has therefore been introduced to render the dealings between man and man more simple, ready and convenient, and you will in many instances have an opportunity of seeing the benefit of this institution; as for example—suppose you wished to dispose of an employment, without having occasion for another in return for it; in this case a reasonable sum of money will best answer your purpose, and will also be for the benefit of your friends; for as money commands all things, it follows of course, that the more you get of it, the more your influence and the power of assisting your friends will be extended.

You may recollect I mentioned to you, when speaking on the subject of œconomy, the many observations that will come from
opposition

opposition on that head, and the disagreeableness and impropriety on your part of yielding to any advice of this kind ; there is, however, one case that just now strikes me, in which you may practice œconomy with considerable success and credit to your administration ; I mean where money is asked *to encourage any public work or undertaking, to support any failing manufacture in which the public is much interested*, or the like : Here you will have a good opportunity of hinting a strong dislike *to jobs*, and of declaring it to be your inclination as well as your duty, to keep a *watchful eye* on the public money. There will be this advantage in particular from acting thus, that the public cannot have the face to deny that you practice œconomy, when they find that you flint themselves.

Some members of administration have, in their days of patriotism, made a good deal of noise on certain questions, and whenever these subjects come again into discussion, they

they will probably from a principle of consistency, wish to speak, or at least to vote in support of their former opinions. If such persons come genteelly and civilly, and ask leave to be their own masters for that day, you must answer them very graciously, and assure them that you do not wish to force any one's judgment, and that you do not expect any support, but what arises from principle; or you may make use of any other pretty sentiment to this effect, that occurs to you at the time: By these means, your administration will be thought (*by people who only judge from appearances*) to proceed upon honest and disinterested principles; and you will have all this credit at the expence of only a vote or two, for you must not give these holidays to more than one or two persons at a time.

If one of these conscientious gentlemen should take it in his head to figure away upon any popular question in support of his old opinions,

opinions, without consulting you, you should give him very hard looks, and even say in his hearing to some one on the Treasury Bench, or behind the Speaker's chair, or at levee, or in a private company, that government must be supported—that you wonder how men can hope to keep a place and oppose administration—that a house divided against itself cannot stand—that no man can serve two masters, or something of that kind, that will give him to understand how much you feel for the impropriety of his conduct: By the bye it would be an excellent opportunity to break with him altogether, if his place is such a one as would suit a friend of yours whom you want to provide for, and for this purpose you may consider him as having actually gone over to opposition, and though he should declare the contrary, yet you can say that you must believe your ears, and indeed as your confidence in him was once abused, you are not bound to believe *him* in future.

Nothing

Nothing will have a better effect in attaching your friends to you, and even in gaining new ones, than assuming a free open manner in your private conversations, and making every one that comes across you in this way, believe that he in particular is your confidant, and entire master of all your secrets; at the same time observe that excellent maxim, *Il volto sciolto, i pensieri stretti*, or, in other words, carry an open countenance, and at the same time keep your thoughts close. It will not make against the spirit of this rule, that you should confide to any person as you may see fit, any little matter that in a few hours perhaps will become universally known, at the same time enjoining a strict secrecy; if he be of a communicative turn, he will introduce a conversation into the first company he comes into upon the subject you spoke of, and on any difference of opinion he will be sure to adduce his authority, by which he will have the pleasure of deciding the point

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in question—of shewing himself to be favoured with your confidence—and, (which is the material thing on your part) will raise a desire in others to partake of the same flattering distinction.

It will very much contribute to your personal comfort and advantage, that the often-fible situations in the House of Commons should be filled by men who have earned a considerable degree of public odium, and are not likely to lose ground in this respect; for 'tis a clear case, that the more these people engross to themselves of the public indignation, and of the asperity that comes from the other side of the house, the less will be your share of each.

Upon any question of considerable expectation, in which you will probably be pushed to a division, you must give proper notice to those members whose business it is

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to speak *against time*, or in other words, to speak for the purpose of delaying the division till your friends are collected ; in order to get the outlyers together as fast as possible, and in mercy to the house, whose patience will be put to a severe trial, you should station some trusty person in the box of the Serjeant at Arms, to receive information where those of your friends that leave the house are to be found, and to give a signal to the gentleman on his legs, as soon as the muster is full.

In all kinds of warfare, there is nothing like knowing beforehand the schemes and manœuvres the enemy intends putting into practice, and in your campaigns in the House of Commons, you will find singular benefit from this piece of generalship. On many occasions it may be necessary to know what the opposition have in view, and what steps they intend taking in order to carry their ends, and, in short, to be acquainted with

with the whole system of their operations; for this service you must employ some members of a sagacious and observant cast, and who are not troubled with any scruples of delicacy, to reconoitre the enemy's works, and to report to you, or some person near you, whatever they can discover to be in agitation. There is nothing improper in this proceeding, for a member has a right to sit in whatever part of the house he pleases, and if he discovers the secrets that come out in private conversation between the leaders of opposition, they are not to be pitied, for it is ungenteel to whisper in company.

As in military tactics it has been found necessary to set before the men a common standard to regulate their motions, in order that they may be performed with uniformity and in time, so in the management of your *squad* you will have occasion for an expert feugleman, especially if you have a number of new

recruits upon the call of a new parliament ; the motions must be given by some signal, which, though simple in itself, may convey very complex ideas ; the feugleman, for instance, by hemming, or taking off his hat, or crossing his legs, &c. &c. may signify, that no more is to be said on your side till the champion of opposition has exhibited ; I shall leave the application of this hint in other instances to your own sagacity. I think that such things as crying *order ! order ! —spoke ! spoke !—hear him*, &c. may be left to the discretion of the members themselves.

Such of the members as are employed immediately about the Castle, or wait on my Lord Lieutenant, should by all means be put into livery ; for nothing is more fashionable now-a-days, than shewing a great number of livery servants, and beside, this badge of servitude will prevent these gentlemen from tak-
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ing airs upon themselves, and being above their business.—You should now and then wear this livery yourself, to shew your humility.

If this country should become clamorous for a share in commercial advantages with England, and that in consequence a plan of commercial arrangement should be fixed upon at the other side of the water, and transmitted to you to be carried through the Parliament here, it will be your business to magnify the concessions of Great Britain to the greatest degree, and to persuade the house that if your system is adopted, this nation must by their exemption from taxes, and the low price of labour become in a short time one of the richest and most flourishing in the world.—If you are a member of the English Parliament, you must appear there also to support the plan of arrangement, and in order to carry your point there, you must have
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recourse to the opposite figure of rhetoric to that you made use of here ; that is, you must say that the concessions on the part of Great Britain are very inconsiderable, and that the capital, skill and industry of the English manufacturers are such as must put it out of the power of the Irish or any other nation, however favoured, to enter into any competition with them.

As the freedom of the press is one of the best guardians of national liberty, you are bound to encourage it by your bounty and protection ; and to this end, you should have one or two of the Dublin News-papers in your constant pay ; or, if possible, under your own direction ; for there is nothing like having an eye one's self to these matters. The paper under your own patronage, should give you and your friends the highest degree of credit for every thing good and bad ; and you would do well to store the file with ready-made panegyrics applicable to all occasions,

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leaving proper blanks to be filled up according to the order of the day, by the committee for conducting the *free press*. Some of your choicest eulogiums should be reserved for such measures as are particularly infamous and odious, as prudent housewives keep their daintiest preserves and pickles to garnish such dishes as would otherwise be nauseous or insipid; and, indeed, these soothing terms will be necessary to keep up the spirits of your friends; the ploughman, in this country, whistles his sweetest tunes where the ground is most stiff and up-hill, and the known effect of it upon the *cattle*, very much illustrates my advice in this particular.

To show your respect for the laws, and your concern for the peace and happiness of the community, you should call a council upon the least riot or outrage whatever, and issue a thundering proclamation upon the occasion; these useful and entertaining performances are *universally read*, and may answer

swer a variety of purposes: In the first place, they bear the stronger testimony to the legal talents of the Attorney and Solicitor General:—Next, they serve to fill up your newspaper, in case of a scarcity of news, or an occasional dullness amongst your paragraph writers, *an event which you should be constantly prepared for*:—At other times you may dispose of them to advantage in the popular news-papers, where they will very properly fill up the place of some disagreeable truths that otherwise might appear against you:—Lastly, they serve to display the names of some of the new made Privy Councillors, who perhaps otherwise *no one would have imagined* were in possession of a seat at the Council-board.

In your own news-paper, you must keep at least a column for *nervous paragraphs*, and snouches on opposition, all of which you must father on an *ingenious correspondent*, a *sagacious observer*, a *bye-stander*, &c.

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In case a Lord Lieutenant has unluckily been unfriendly to the trade of this country, or which is more likely, has not had time to think of it at all, you must make amends for this deficiency, by blazoning forth in the strongest colours, every new suit of cloaths he gets, which at all events you are to take for granted, are of Irish manufacture.

In general you are to observe this rule, that the language and character of your newspaper, are to be a compleat contrast to your department in the House; for your situations in these two respects, are as opposite as light and darkness: In your public and visible capacity, you must be meek, unassuming, plausible, complimentary, incapable of being roused, and of course not requiring to be appeased, insensible either to shame or to resentment; on the contrary, in your *dark or invisible* capacity, you must be splenetic, impudent, unbounded in assertion, extravagant

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in *self-adulation*, and equally defamatory to those who enjoy the confidence of the public, and of course can have no community of interest, with you or your friends. In short, where *your danger is small, let your courage be great, and vice versa*, where you have much to apprehend, let your passions be under such discipline, as to retreat in good order.

Your deportment in the Council Chamber must be varied according to circumstances; if any thing that has the appearance of being beneficial to this country, should be in consideration there, be sure you stand very forward upon the occasion, and let the merit of the measure appear to be your own as much as possible; upon other occasions you must contrive that the Lord Lieutenant should be the first mover, for you know 'tis not your business to lessen the weight and dignity of the Representative of Majesty in this country—beside, it would have a bad effect with
those

those of the Cabinet Council that are in the House of Commons, that you should appear to be judge and party in the same cause, and that a bad one too. Upon these occasions, the Lord Lieutenant should state his *determination*, and then *ask the advice* of those present: This will prevent them from being in suspense about the issue of the debate, and will contribute very much to the dispatch of business.

Upon any affair of consequence in which you apprehend the Lord Lieutenant may have some view to popularity in this country, which is quite incompatible with your purposes, you must tell him you would be very glad he would make himself master of the business, and that you will send him a *port-folio* of papers on the subject, which are all absolutely necessary to have any knowledge of the matter; as he has not time for such things as these, he will wish to understand the matter briefly from yourself, and then you can represent it as best suits your

convenience ; if he should be *stiff of conviction*, you must only refer him to the *port-folio*, and this proposal, if properly insisted on, will, I have no doubt, speedily bring him to your way of thinking on the subject.

I approve very much of the *alphabet dinners*, as being often successful in softening the hearts of the country gentlemen, especially such as stick close to the bottle ; from this generous source flow many of the pretty compliments that are paid the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Commons, even at times when you and the measures of government are dealt with very severely. In order to gain the warm heart of some of the patriots to yourself, you should invite them in well chosen knots to private dinners of your own, and make your wife ask them to her parties, and take particular notice of them ; if there is any hesitating man that hangs as it were *in equilibrio*, you should lose no time with him, but instantly direct such a battery of civilities
upon

upon him as will soon induce him to surrender at discretion.

If any gentlemen are to be sent from this country to consult with the minister in England, upon any matters that may be in issue between the two kingdoms, the minister and you are to settle beforehand the opinions and advice that these gentlemen are to give on the subject; and then when he comes to treat with them, he will have none of these difficulties to encounter that usually occur in negotiations, for want of this previous adjustment between the parties.

I mentioned to you before, the necessity of your being utterly insensible to all insults and indignities, whether they come from those whose business you are employed to transact, or from those in this country who lay themselves out to obstruct and embarrass you in your endeavours to fulfil the duties of your station. The more I consider

consider the matter, the more I see the propriety of inculcating this *amicable and useful disposition*. If you are insensible to injuries of this kind, you in fact receive none, and you know *'tis nobler to be above injuries than to revenge them*; beside, if you show a greater alertness in enduring insulencies than any other person can in offering them, the siege will at length be raised, and you will be left as impregnable. I need hardly remind you that you may afterwards in your turn make yourself amends for any insults you have received; for a man that has suffered all sorts of affronts may be allowed, *as an apprentice that has served out his time, to set up for himself, and put them off upon others*.

As it is noble to forget little injuries, so it is magnanimous to *forget little friendships* that you were engaged in previous to your exaltation; for these are in fact *no better than injuries*, as being disparagements to you in your present condition. Indeed it is a hard matter for a man that
comes

comes to preferment not to *forget himself*, and therefore he may be very well allowed the liberty of forgetting others, and the favours they have conferred. Besides, you are to consider that the requiting of obligations received in a man's necessity is the same with paying debts contracted during his minority ; which he is not accountable for by the laws of the land.

If you have any conscience at all (which I am inclined to think is rather an incumbrance in your circumstances) it should be a *good wide roomy one that won't pinch or confine you, for your narrow consciences, like narrow boots, don't do half the service, or give half the comfort of those that are loose and easy*. You must have a great deal of room in your conscience for mental reservations with regard to your promises, and a double meaning for those and most of your other declarations. Indeed your words and your meaning should very rarely agree together, for if you give your-
self

self a habit of saying what you think, you lay yourself open to be interpreted by the shallowest understandings; and though philosophers will have it that the true use of words is to put others in possession of your real meaning, yet politicians have found out a much more ingenious use for them, which is, to *disguise* it.

In order to throw off from yourself the odium of any strong measures you have thought fit to adopt, or any jobs that you have set on foot from the honourable motive of fulfilling a few of your promises and extending the influence of the crown, *which in this country is very much within its proper bounds!* you should employ your secret friends, the *runners*, to insinuate in all companies they are admitted to, that so far from originating these measures, that you did not even approve of them, and that only for peace sake you would have absolutely declared against them; you may even have it whispered that differences run so high

high in the cabinet, that you have thoughts of quitting the country; this report (*as people are fond to believe what they very much wish*) will be easily credited by the uninformed, and will put you in the light of a martyr to public virtue and principle. This innocent delusion will, while it lasts, produce a pleasing variety to you, and will be an agreeable respite from the general odium and obloquy that you may have incurred.

In order to obtain a proper influence in the corporation of the city of D——n, you should lay yourself out to attack their charters from every quarter, and you will find that the Al——n here partake of the nature of an English spaniel, the more you kick and cuff and pull them by the ears, the more fond they will grow of you, and will show such a winning manner, as in the end must very much gain upon your affections; at times, when you discipline them severely, you must have *something at hand*

to feed them with, and knowing this to be your practice, they will submit to the roughest treatment without repining; when you have brought them completely *under command*, and that they *fetch and carry* with tolerable alertness, you must teach them *to seek out there*, and to *find out and seize upon every thing you point your finger to*. As to *chartered rights*, and *all that sort of thing*, you will hear a great deal said, but you are not to allow such common place declamation to pass with you for oratory, and though you should happen to have supported these arguments yourself upon a former occasion, and even should owe your situation to the success of them, yet in supporting chartered rights you could not be supposed to include such as might prove inconvenient for you to observe; beside this method of confuting you out of your own mouth, is a *felonious attempt to make a property of your words*, which you should by all means resist with your *life and fortune*, it is a kind of *argumentum ad hominem*

hominem, and borders too closely on the *Socratic method of reasoning*, which as being logic and pedantry, you should always set your face against.

If you propose to erect any *new boards* in the city, which between you and me, I look upon to be the prettiest and most handy kind of influence, to appoint any Commissioners, or so forth, and that you *have good reason* to apprehend meetings or resolutions of the corporation that might unsettle or at least discredit your scheme; you must keep as a dead secret the names of the persons on whom you are to confer the emoluments, till your friends have engaged for the job passing through Parliament; thus the charming uncertainty of the matter will stop the mouths of the city gentlemen, or else will keep them so busily employed in gaping after preferment, that they would not be able to think of any thing else at the time.

In any regulations of *police* that you may adopt, as you may give out, for keeping the peace of the kingdom, but in reality for keeping the *peace of the servants of the Crown*, you must be well provided with arguments to meet the objections that in public and private will be made against the measure ; the most persuasive argument in your favour would be *some well imagined tragical stories of insurrections against the clergy*, outrageous violations of the peace, &c. &c. I would recommend it to you to lay the scene in the county of Kerry, or some such wild and uninhabited part of the kingdom, where no witnesses can rise up to question the truth of your narratives ; as if you are to tell a lie at all let it by all means be a *circumstantial* one ; give time, place, names, and a number of corroborating circumstances ; for a lie properly dressed out in this way has no more sin in it than a naked one, and will gain a hundred believers for one that an unvarnished tale will procure.

If

If there be any clause in your police bill against *tippling at unseasonable hours*, and *gaming at cards, dice, and other games of chance*, I very much fear it may extend to some *great personages*, and therefore you must take special care that any such clause be very artfully constructed, that the persons alluded to may not come under the penalties of it.

I shall now close my advice to you, which I am satisfied you will shew has not been thrown away upon you, and shall proceed to address the other servants of the Crown in the order that their rank and consequence place them.

END OF THE FIRST NUMBER.

